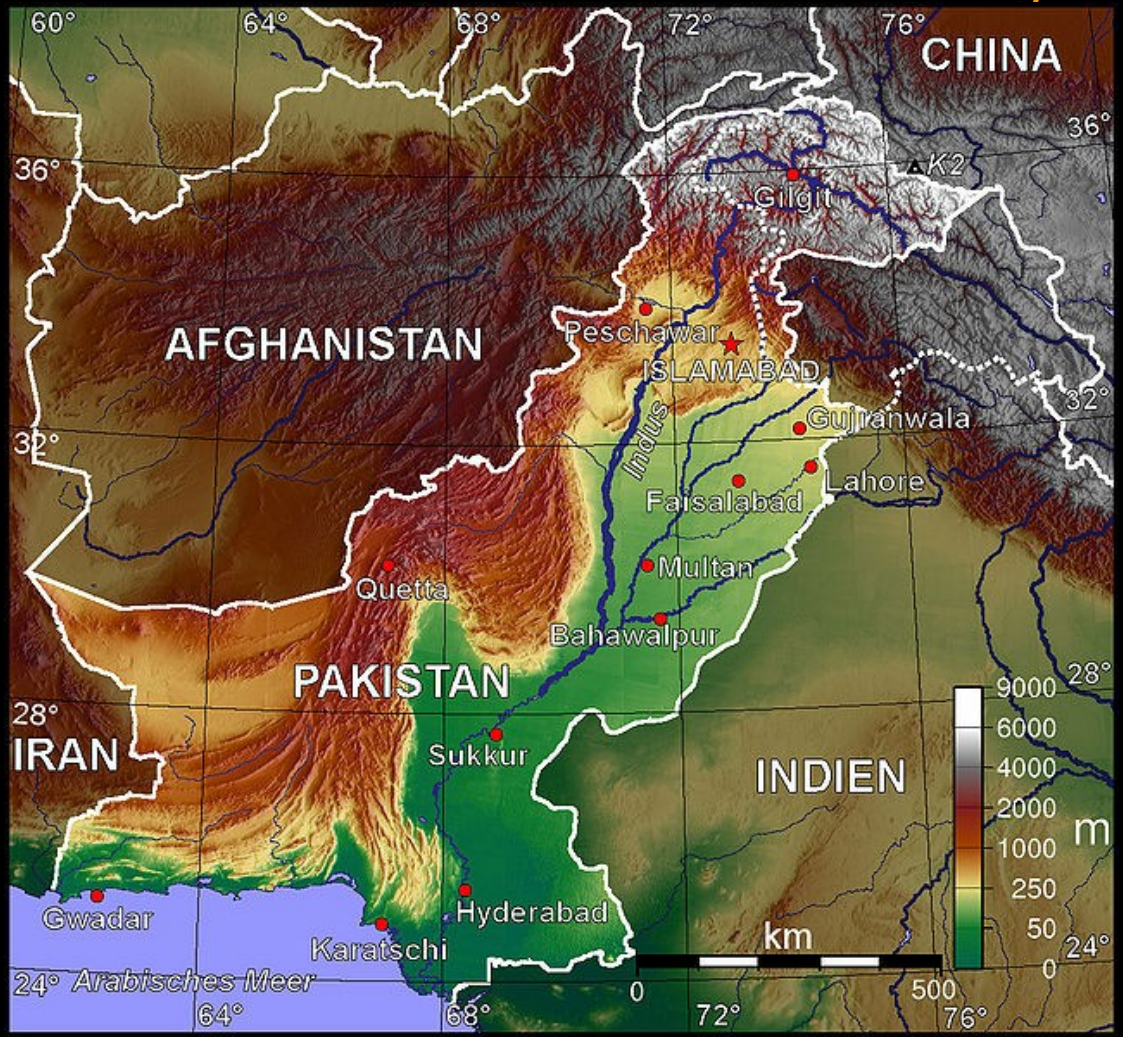
# Pakistan's Impact on Afghanistan

Dr. Julian Schofield
Concordia University



# Summary

- Cause of the Afghan War
- What Pakistan wants
- Engaging Islamic ideas in Afghanistan

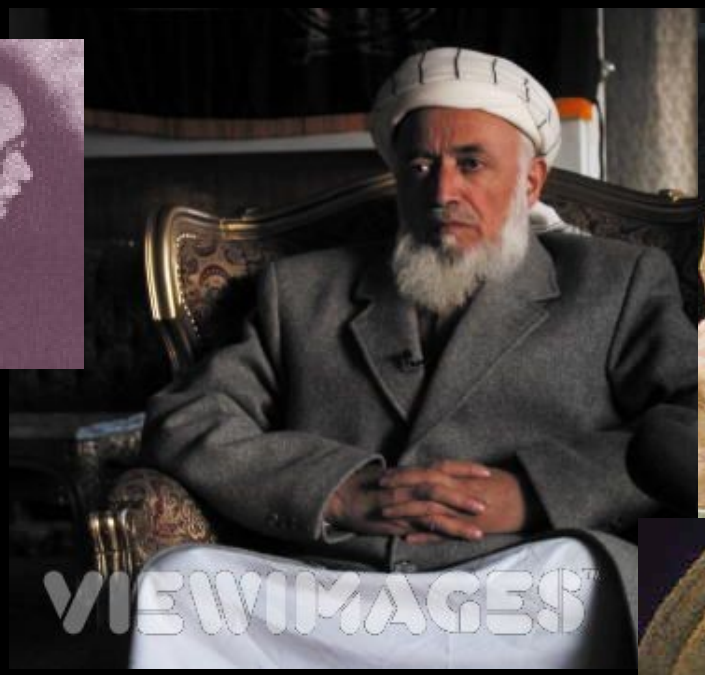
# Conventional Wisdom Soviets caused Afghan War

- Soviet invasion Dec 1979

# Start of the Afghanistan-Pakistan War

- July 17 1973: Afghan President (king's cousin and brother-in-law), Mohammad Daoud
- **Pakhtun separatist policy** + Marri and Mengal Baloch sanctuary (1974-1977) Pakistan

# Islamists opposed Pashtunistan
# Organization of MuslimYouth 1969

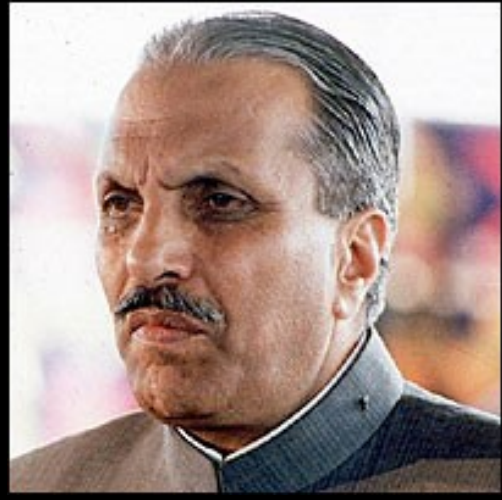


- Rabbani
- Sayyid Qutb of al Azhar University in Cairo
- jahiliyya

# Z.A. Bhutto and Mujahideen

- 1973-74: Provides stipends, weapons and training
- 1974 Faizani coup fails
- 1975 Islamist Revolt failed; refugees NWFP
- Reorganize: Hekmatyar + Rabbani
- Bombings: Kabul + Jalalabad
- Pakistani and Afghan troops clash
- 1976 escalation Afghan + Pak sought invasion
- Bhutto asks Soviets to pressure Daud
- June/Aug 1976 Bhutto wins
  - Maintains support to Islamists

# Zia ul-Haq and Mujahideen



- 1978
  - Assassination provokes PDPA
  - Saur Revolution 80,000 refugees
  - Invite Pakistani Pashtun to Kabul
  - 8 training camps established in NWFP
- Jan 1979: 5,000 mujahideen attack Asabad
- April 1979: mujahideen attack Jalalabad
- March 1979: uprising fails: Kabul, Jalalabad, Herat: USSR intervenes 10 months later
- July 3 1979 – US enters the conflict (Brzezinski)

# Counterfactual

- If no Soviets, Kabul fallen in April 1982>April 1992 (=1929 revolt)
- Famines 1971+1972 + modernization v Islamists 1970
- **Why** Distortion: Cold War template + Afghan + Pak downplay local conflict
- **Solution**: treat it as the local war it is: get the parties to negotiate a settlement
- Mantra: Taliban victory in Afghanistan will collapse

# Policy Panic: Myth of Pakistan's Imminent Collapse

- Barnett Rubin: "The stability of Pakistan, a nuclear-weapons state that has been the main source of proliferation over the past two-decades, is now at serious risk." Mar 09 For Aff
- *The Economist* January 2008

# Paths of Pakistan’s Collapse

- Military Islamist Coup
- Civil War – Pashtun v Punjab
- Islamic Electoral Victory

# Coup

- Pakistan army not coup-proofed
- Corps Commanders Conference
- coup is very difficult without their approval
- 8 coups: none successful without military approval

# Coups of Pakistan

1. Feb 1951 Pindi Conspiracy (failed)
2. Oct 1958 Gen Ayub Khan (mil > civ)
3. Mar 1969 Gen Yahya Khan (mil > mil)
4. Dec 1971 6th Arm Div Tikka Khan (failed)
5. Mar 1973 Military anti-Bhutto coup (failed)
6. Jul 1977 Zia ul-Haq (mil > civ)

   1988 assassination of Zia ul-Haq
7. Sep 1994 Gen. Zaheer-ul-Islam Abbasi (failed)
8. Oct 1999 Pervaiz Musharraf (mil > civ)

# Corps Commanders Conference

- Corps: 20,000 to 60,000 soldiers

Strike Corps North (1st Corps) – Ma a

10 Corps – Rawalpindi (protect GHQ, Kahuta); 111 Bde

31 Corps – Bahawalpur (Punjab)

2 Corps – Multan (Punjab)

4 Corps – Lahore (Punjab)

30 Corps – Sialkot (Punjab)

12 Corps – Quetta

5 Corps – Karachi

9 Corps – Peshawar

Northern Area Command - Gilgit.

Director ISI

Director MI (Military Intelligence)

# Self-Contained Military

- Military is self-contained
- Shaheen and Fauji foundation, hospitals, education
- Mercenary army – remains selective & voluntary no conscription.
- Cantonments, comptroller, contracts
- Most military believe in democracy (paradox).

# Anti-Military Factions & Nuclear Security

- Jamaat-i-Islami
- Ulema-i-Islami
- Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shriat-e-Mohhamadi (mil)
- Sipah-e-Sahaba (anti-Shia)
- Tehreek-e-Jaferia (Shia)
- Lashar-e-Jhangvi (anti-Shia in S Waziristan)
- Jamaat ul-Fuqra
- Harkat-ul-Mujahideen Al-alami (assassination)
- Tehrek-e-Taliban-Pakistan

# Pakistan - Population Distribution

Punjab 90 million (also Seraiki)

Sindh 36 million

NWFP 23 million (Pashtun)

Mohajir (Urdu) 13 million (Karachi/Hyderabad)

Balochistan 6 million

FATA 4 million (Pashtun)

Hindko+Kashmir 8 million (NWFP/North Areas)

Total Population: 180 million (2009 est.)

Pakistan GDP US$ 144bn; 50% rural; $1,000 PPP/cap

# Ethnic Breakdown of Military

| | 1990 | 2005 | Change |
|---|---|---|---|
| Punjabi | 65% | 43% | - 22% |
| Sindhi | 15% | 23% | + 8% |
| Pashtun | 14% | 22% | + 8% |
| Kashmiri | 6% | 10% | + 4% |

| Punjabi | 1979 | 1990 | 2005 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Officers | 70% | 67% | 67% |

(60% of population)

Pashtun: Officer Corps (22-25%), ISI (30-40%)

# Civil War & Pakistan Military

- 600,000 volunteers, 10 million dependents, PML-Q
- Based: rural Punjab (Salt Range) and NE Pashtun (Kohat and Mardan; Yusuf-zai)
- 28 div, 2,400 tanks, 4,200 artillery, 383 combat a/c
- Unlimited violence
  - Bengal
  - Baloch
  - Kashmir
  - Mohajir

# Civil War Scenario

- Pakistan’s bureaucracy strong 1954
- Pakistan’s army never loses CI
- Baloch five insurgencies: 1948, 1958-59, 1962-63, 1973-77, and 2002+ (Talibanizing)
- Suppressed 75 million Bengalis in 1970-71 with 40,000 soldiers, 10 million refugees

# Expert Counter-Insurgency

- None of the opposition groups are strong: mostly Pashtun, rest Punjabi.
- The Taliban problem is entirely a Pakhtun problem.
- Uprisings vs the Brits:
- biggest was in 1897 – Malakand Force: Swat
- Uprisings also in 1860, 1919

# Expert Counter-Insurgency

- Pashtun only crossed over the Indus three times: 1761 (defeated the Sikhs)
- 1831 (disaster), 1919 (disaster)

# Expert Counter-Insurgency

- Afghan Ahmad Shah defeated the Sikhs at Lahore in 1761
- 80,000 strong Afghan Jihadis led by Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi in 1831
- Few thousand strong Afghan Jihadis led by Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi in 1919

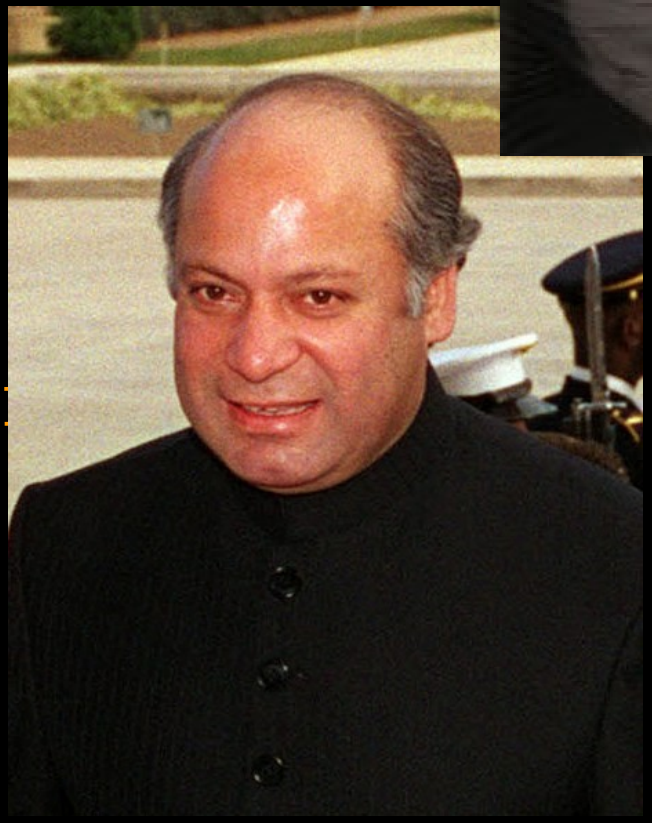
# Major Political Parties

**PPP**

- Ali Asi Zardari

**PML-N**

- Nawaz Sha



# Major Political Parties

**PML-Q**

- Pro-military / feudal
- Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain

**PML-F** (Functional)

- Breakaway faction from Sindh (not accepted by Nawaz Sharif)
- Pir Sahib Pagara

**PPP** – (Sherpao)

- PPP Breakaway faction from the NWFP
- Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao

# Minor Political Parties

**MQM** (Muttahida Qaumi Movement)

- Altaf Hussain (exile in London)
- Farooq Sattar Pirwani

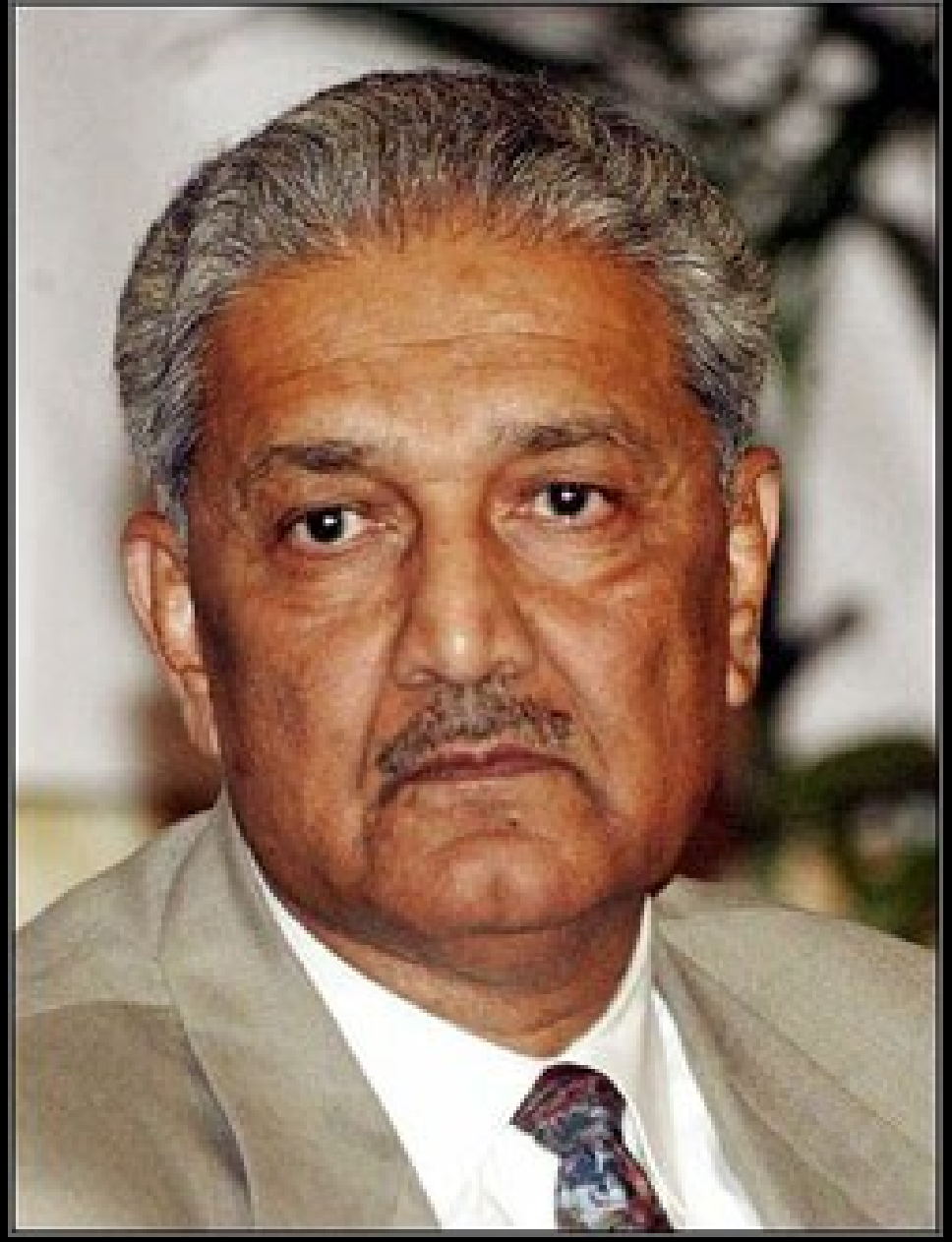
# Failure to Challenge Islam

- MQM: Mohajir Party
- Urdu speaking immigrants, well educated, marginalized, Islamic state ethic
- Control Karachi (pop 18 million) and Hyderabad
- Islamic ideology of the state of Pakistan
- US seeking to engage the MQM because of control of Taliban drug routes

# MQM

- 45 killed single bombing, cricket match, kidnap foreigners, mil personnel, assass senator, bomb train, shut down US embassy in Karachi
- Violence 1986-2002: 1,000 killed
- Destroyed Karachi police – never defeated

# Nuclear Weapons



# Minor Political Parties

**ANP** (Awami National Party)

- Cooperate closely with the PPP
- Senator Asfandyar Wali Khan, (grandson of Abdul Gaffar Khan)
- 4 million Pashtuns Karachi

**MMA** (Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal)

- Theocratic party
- Jamiat-i-Islami, Ulema-i-Islami, Jamiat Ahle-i-Hadith, JUI-F, Shia Tehrik-e-Jafaria

**BNP** (Baluchistan National Party – Awami) – Sardar Akhtar Malik

# NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

## GENERAL ELECTION - 2008 --- PARTY POSITION INCLUDING RESERVED SEATS

### Province-wise Breakup upto 07-03-2008

| Province | | FATA | Federal Capital | N.W.F.P. | | | | Punjab | | | | Sindh | | | | Balochistan | | | | Non Muslims | PARTY GRAND TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | | 4 | | | | 5 | | | | 6 | | | | 7 | |
| S # | Party Name | | | General Seats | Ind | Women | Total | General Seats | Ind | Women | Total | General Seats | Ind | Women | Total | General Seats | Ind | Women | Total | | |
| 1 | PPPP | 0 | 0 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 13 | 44 | 5 | 12 | 61 | 29 | 0 | 7 | 36 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 4 | **120** |
| 2 | PML-N | 0 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 60 | 4 | 16 | 80 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | **90** |
| 3 | ANP | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 3 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **13** |
| 4 | PML | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 28 | 0 | 7 | 35 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 2 | **51** |
| 5 | MQM | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19 | 0 | 5 | 24 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | **25** |
| 6 | MMA | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | **6** |
| 7 | PPP-S | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **1** |
| 8 | PML-F | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **5** |
| 9 | NPP | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | **1** |
| 10 | BNP-A | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | **1** |
| 11 | Ind. | 10 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | **18** |
| **TOTAL** | | **10** | **2** | 31 | 1 | 7 | **39** | 137 | 9 | 35 | **181** | 58 | 0 | 14 | **72** | 13 | 1 | 3 | **17** | **10** | **331** |

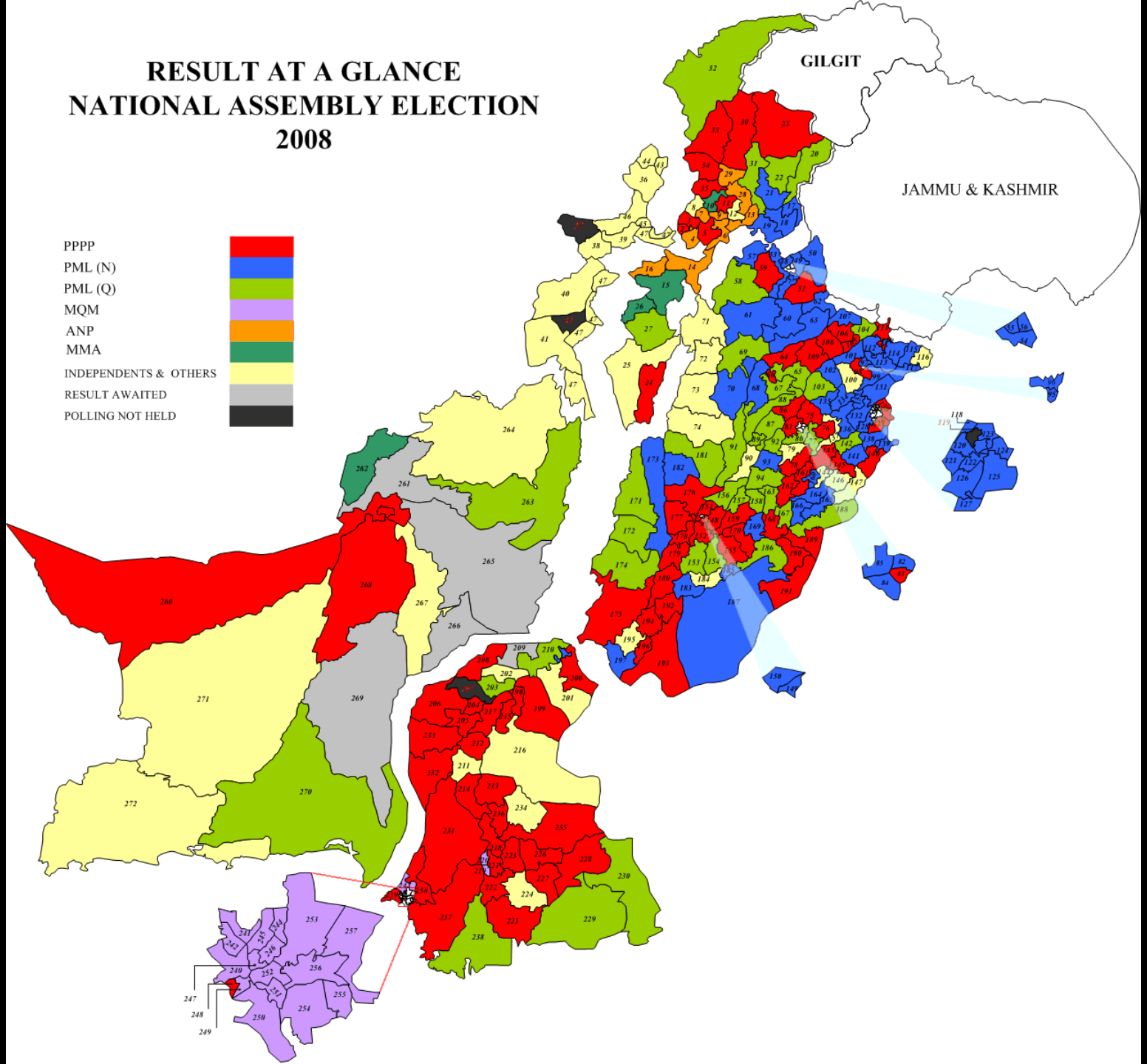
# PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES

## GENERAL ELECTION - 2008 --- PARTY POSITION INCLUDING RESERVED SEATS

### Province-wise Breakup upto 07-03-2008

| Province | | N.W.F.P. | | | | | Punjab | | | | | Sindh | | | | | Balochistan | | | | | PARTY GRAND TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1 | | | | | 2 | | | | | 3 | | | | | 4 | | | | | |
| S # | Party Name | General Seats | IND | Women | Non Muslims | Total | General Seats | IND | Women | Non Muslims | Total | General Seats | IND | Women | Non Muslims | Total | General Seats | IND | Women | Non Muslims | Total | |
| 1 | PPPP | 17 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 30 | 80 | 5 | 19 | 2 | 106 | 67 | 0 | 16 | 5 | 88 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 235 |
| 2 | PML-N | 5 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 104 | 27 | 30 | 4 | 165 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 174 |
| 3 | ANP | 31 | 5 | 9 | 1 | 46 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 50 |
| 4 | PML | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 68 | 0 | 16 | 2 | 86 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 15 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 20 | 120 |
| 5 | MQM | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 39 | 0 | 9 | 3 | 51 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 51 |
| 6 | MMA | 10 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 14 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 10 | 26 |
| 7 | PPP-S | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| 8 | PML-F | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| 9 | NPP | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 10 | BNP-A | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 7 |
| 11 | NP | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 12 | Ind. | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 18 |
| TOTAL | | 79 | 13 | 22 | 3 | 117 | 259 | 32 | 66 | 8 | 365 | 122 | 0 | 29 | 8 | 159 | 47 | 2 | 11 | 3 | 63 | 704 |

# RESULT AT A GLANCE
# NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION
# 2008



| Party | 1988 | 1990 | 1993 | 1997 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pakistan Peoples Party | 93 | 44 | 89 | 18 |
| Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) | 54 | 106 | 0 | 0 |
| Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) | - | - | 73 | 137 |
| Awami National Party | 2 | 6 | 3 | 10 |
| Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)* | 13 | 15 | - | 12 |
| Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (Fazlur Rehman) | 7 | 6 | - | 2 |
| Other Parties/Indepenents ** | 38 | 30 | 42 | 28 |
| Total Turnout | 43.07% | 45.46% | 40.28% | 35.42% |
| Total Seats | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 |

| | 2002 | 2008 | Votes | % Votes |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PPP | 80 | 120 | 10,125,390 | 32.70% |
| PML (N) | 18 | 90 | 6,393,365 | 20.60% |
| PML (Q) | 118 | 51 | 7,432,918 | 24.00% |
| PML (F) | | 5 | 707,760 | 2.30% |
| MQM | 17 | 25 | 2,350,377 | 7.60% |
| ANP | | 13 | 573,440 | 1.90% |
| MMA | 59 | 7 | 395,110 | 1.30% |
| Other Parties | 49 | 3 | | |
| Independent | 1 | 18 | 2,802,751 | 9.00% |
| Pending Results | 0 | 10 | | |
| | Total | 342 | | |

| Election | National Assembly seats won by NAP | NWFP Provincial Assembly seats won by NAP | National percentage of polled votes |
|---|---|---|---|
| **2008** | 10 | 31 | ? |
| **2002** | 0 | 7 | 1.0% |
| **1997** | 10 | 32 | 2.31 |
| **1993** | 03 | 18 | 1.67% |
| **1990** | 06 | 23 | 1.68% |
| **1988** | 02 | 10 | 2.80% |

| **PPP (Bhutto) Faction** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Name | Motive | Worth | Rank | Industry |
| **Asif Ali Zardari** | **Benazir husband** | **$ 1.8 bn** | **2** | **Gov contract, Agro, M.E./West** |
| **Nasir Schon (Mohajir)** | **Sharif Exprop 1997** | **$ 1 bn** | **6** | **Bank, textiles, real estate** |
| **Abdul Razzaq Yakoub (UAE)** | **Zardari associate** | **$ 1 bn** | **7** | **Media, real estate, gold** |
| **Dewan Yousaf Farooqui*** | **Sindhi** | **$ 800 m** | **10** | **Textile, automotive** |
| **Sultan Ali Lakhani*** | **Sindh/v mil anti-corrupt** | **$ 800 m** | **11** | **Textile, consumer goods** |
| **Shimmy Querishi (USA)** | **Zardari associate** | **$ 480 m** | **20** | **Banking** |
| | | | | |
| *probable association | | | | |

| **PML-N (Nawaz Sharif) Faction** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Name | Motive | Worth | Rank | Industry |
| **Mian Muhammad Mansha Yaha** | **Bhutto Exprop 1970s** | **$ 2.5 bn** | **1** | **Textiles, constr** |
| **Nawaz Sharif & Shahbaz Sharif** | **Bhutto Exprop 1970s** | **$ 1.4 bn** | **4** | **Constr, Gov contract** |
| **Saddaruddin Hashwani*** | **Bhutto Exprop 1970s** | **$ 1.1 bn** | **5** | **Hotel, textile** |
| **Tariq Saigol & Nasim Saigol** | **Bhutto Exprop 1970s** | **$ 850 m** | **9** | **Textile, banking** |
| **Abu Bakar Sheikhani** | **Business with N Sharif** | **$ 600 m** | **16** | **Real Estate, Gwadar** |
| **Razzaq Dawood (UAE)** | **Bhutto Exprop 1970s** | **$ 500 m** | **17** | **Construction, M.E.** |
| **Jehangir Elahi** | **Brother of Mian Mansha** | **$ 400 m** | **27** | **Power plants** |
| **Saddiq & Sons*** | **Business with N Sharif** | **$ 260 m** | **41** | **Sugar mills, real estate** |
| **Kasim Dada*** | **Bhutto Exprop 1970s** | **$ 200 m** | **44** | **Auto parts, chemicals** |
| | | | | |
| *probable association | | | | |

| **PML-Q (Quaid-i-Azam - Musharraf) Faction** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Name | Motive | Worth | Rank | Industry |
| **Malik Riaz Hussain*** | **Military connections** | **$ 800 m** | **12** | **Real estate** |
| **Javid Saifullah (Pakhtun)*** | **Military marriages** | **$ 440 m** | **26** | **Textiles, telecoms** |
| **Noon family (Zamindar)*** | **---** | **$ 380 m** | **29** | **Textile, construction** |
| | | | | |
| *probable association | | | | |

| **Unaffiliated** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Name | Motive | Worth | Rank | Industry |
| **Sir Anwar Pervaiz (UK)** | --- | **$ 1.5 bn** | **3** | **Cement, UK** |
| **Rafiq Habib & Rasheed Habib** | --- | **$ 900 m** | **8** | **Bank, Auto. Textile** |
| **Sheikh Abid Hussain** | --- | **$ 780 m** | **13** | **Real estate** |
| **Mian Mohammed Latif** | --- | **$ 700 m** | **14** | **Textiles, M.E.** |

# Why Poor Pakistan Policy?

- Canada NATO > Afghanistan

- US (speculation):
- (1). Not provoke an Islamist coup
- (2). Believe that Pakistan is not able to affect the Taliban
- (3). Not provoke PRC (DPRK, Taiwan).
- (4). Not provoke Saudi Arabia (key to Middle East).

# Pakistan's Allies

# What Does Pakistan Want?

Return to the state of affairs in 1963-1973

Cessation of support for Pashtun nationalism either:

1. by having a strong Kabul or
2. weakening Kabul

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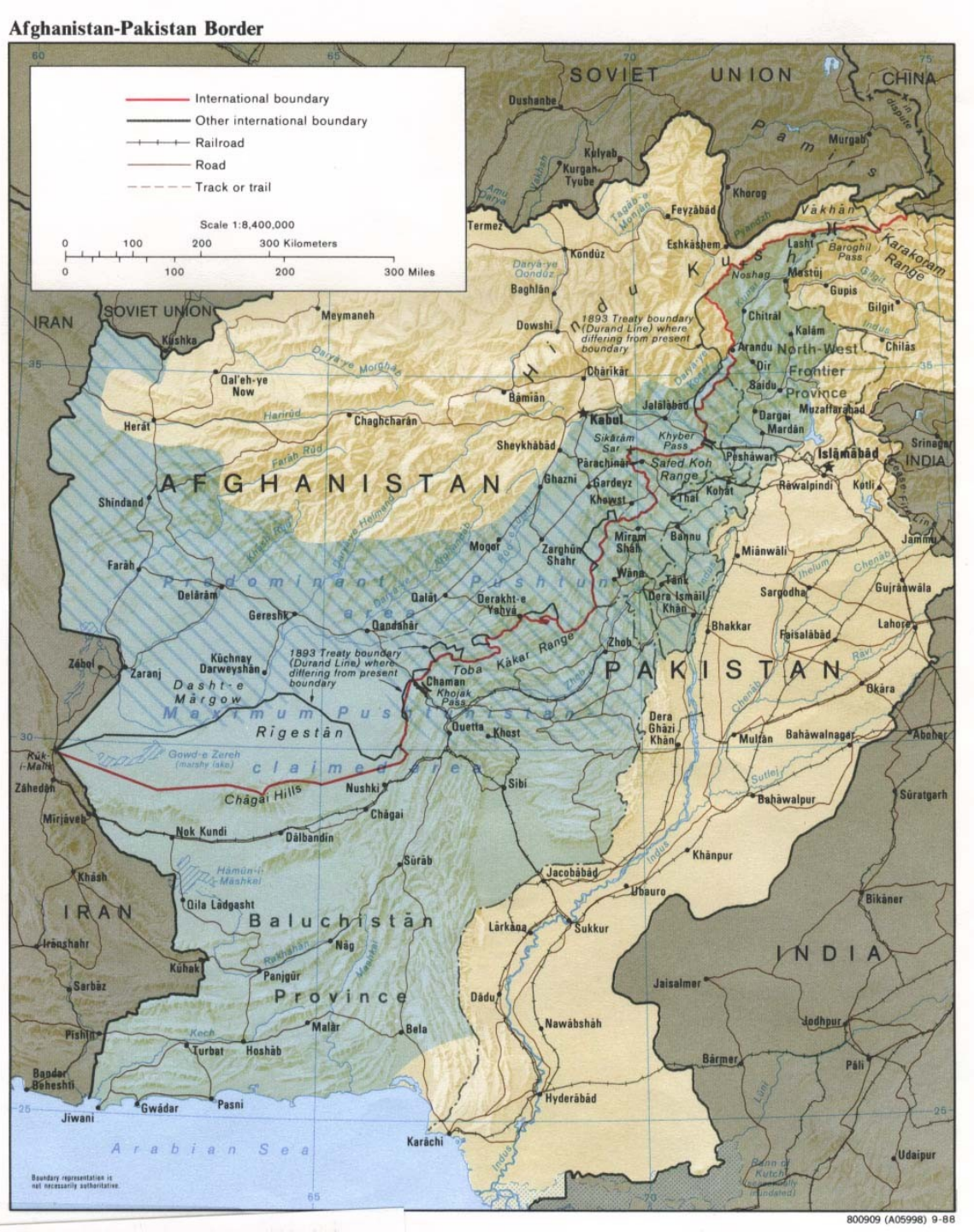
- Dec 1947 demand access to sea
- 1947

  Pakhtunistan Claim
- 1950-1960s



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AHMAD SHAH DURRANI EMPIRE
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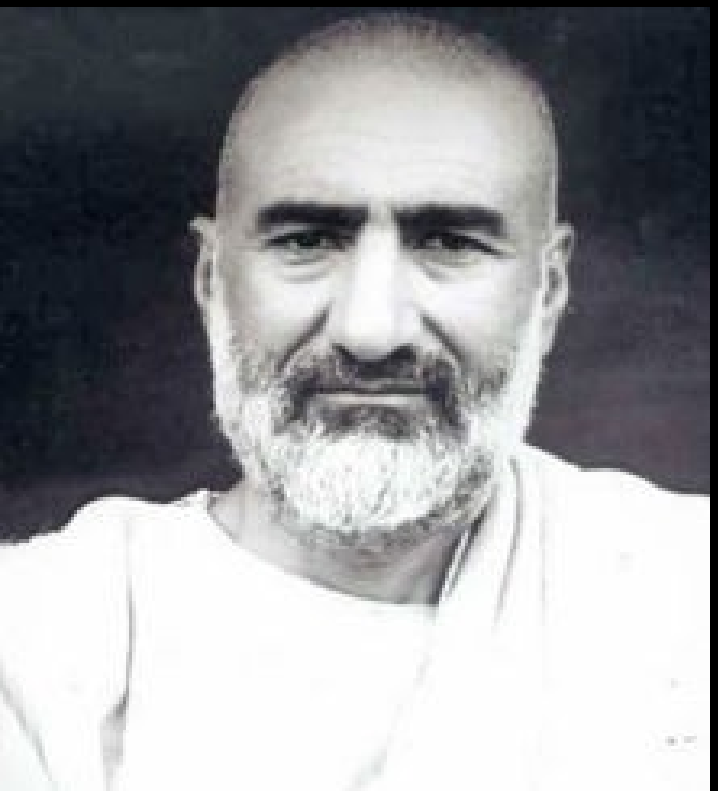
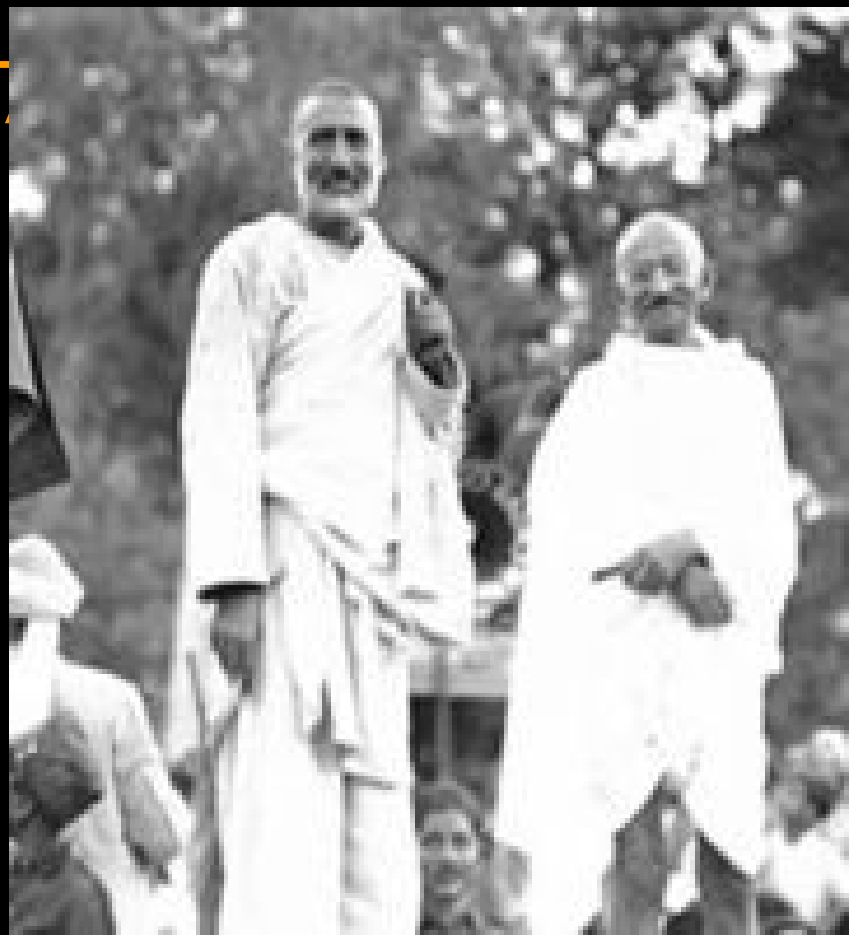
orgia
Azerbaijan
Tabriz
Rasht
Turkmenistan
Asgabat
China
Mashhad
Tehran
Irbil
kuk
Qom
Baghdad
Afghanistan
Peshawar
Esfahan
Iran
Gujranwala
al-Basrah
Kerman
Pakistan
Ludhiana
Shiraz
Zahedan
Bahawalpur
Delhi
Bikaner
Nepal
ad-Dammam
Agra
Kanpur
Ajmer
Patna
Dubai
Karachi
Kota
Allahabad
Saudi
Arabia
United Arab
Emirates
Jabalpur
Ahmadabad
Bhopal
India
Surat
Nagpur

# Partition History

- Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
  - Red Shirts
- Sardar Ibrahim
- Jihad in Kashmir 194

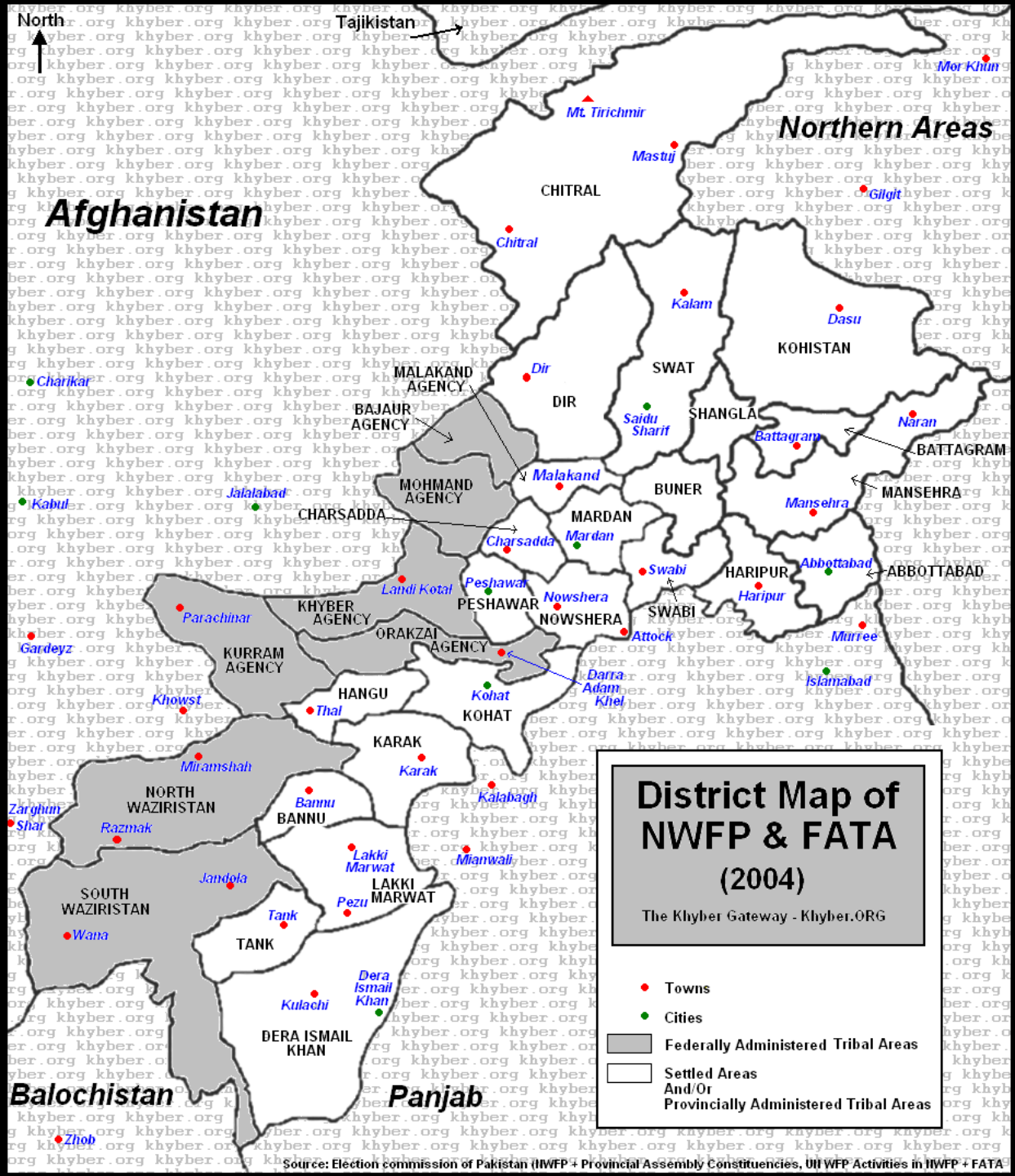




1953 Prime Minister

Mohammad Daud Khan

- 1951 Afghan Army infiltration
- 1953 P.M. Mohammad Daud Khan
- March 1955
  70,000 Afghan mobilize
- Sep 1960
  infiltration: Bajaur
- May 1961
  infiltration: Dir
- Fall 1961
- 1962-1963 sporadic infiltration
- Pakistan:
  Lesson Learned:
  Local security



- 1963-1973 Royal Peace with Pakistan
- Afghanistan supports Pakistan 1965 & 1971
- 1973 [illegible]nah

# Pakistan's War in Afghanistan

Causes:

1. Pakhtun Secessionism
2. Non-recognition of the Durand Line
3. Support to India

- 1995 - Zahir Shah
- 1996 – Benazir Bhutto supports Taliban
- Taliban never recognizes Durand Line

- Hakimullah Mehsud
- Tehrek-e-Taliban-Pakistan
- al Qaeda
- No separatists
- Swat (neutralize)
- Mohmand (victory)
- Bajaur (victory)

# Trade

- third party trade transit rights for Afghanistan to India
- economic development will fail
- 2009 Afghanistan Transit Trade Agreement ATTA
- Pakistan not permit direct road or rail to India
- Pakistan main trading partner (US$1.7bn 2007),
- Re-exports, dumping

# Trade

- Kabul shift its trade northwards to Soviet Union
- trade embargo in 1961
- Resumed 1963 (Iran mediation)
- revised ATTA in 1965, never fully restored the status quo ante

# Strong Kabul

- If NATO can deliver a strong regime in Kabul strong enough to resist the temptation of stoking secessionism in Pakistan, then Islamabad will cooperate.
- Misconception: ISI Contact with Taliban
- Misconception: Afghanistan Support for suppression of Taliban:
- While the Kabul government accuses Pakistan of harboring insurgents in the tribal areas, it would be the **first to object to a military occupation and consolidation of control of those regions**.

# Failure to Engage Islam

- Why:
- (1). Fear of blowback
- (2). NATO is secular – not promote Islam
- Policy: patronage local sufi tariqas and pir shrines and families + urban Hanafi ulema
- Islam is malleable
- Pakhtunwali; Pashtun lashkars militia > tax

# The Deoband

- Quetta Shura – Deobandi – Mullah Mohamad Omar: Shura > Loya Jirga
- Jamaat-i-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) party. access refugees madrassahs
- Deobandiism 1867 1831 Jihad Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi + 1857 Great Mutiny
- popular Pashtun beginning 20th Century

# Reaction to Decline

- Deobandiism Islamic reaction erosion Mughal power 18th century (Hindus)
- Mawdudi Jamiat-i-Islami bureaucrats turned religious leaders
- rise of European colonialism in the 19th century.
- Muslims: how to recapture the greatness of their community.
- Paradise: martyrdom
- Islam: law > metaphysics

# Islamic Revival

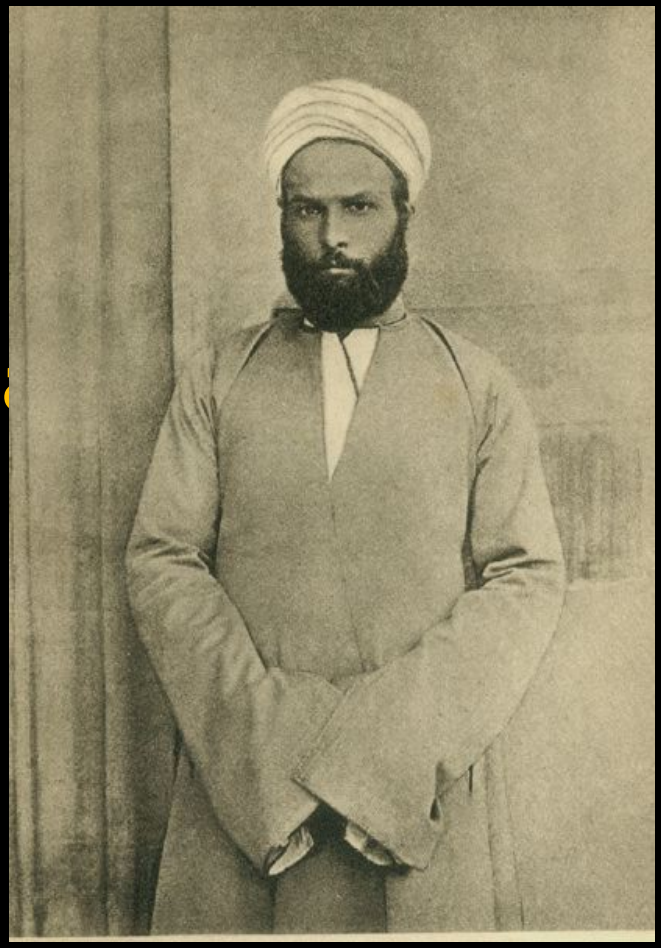
- Faradiyah
- Mawlawi Sahri’atullah of Delhi in 1802 Mecca
- Wahhabi Hanbali fiqh Koran - ijtihad
- Hanafi-consistent Koran and the Hadith, but stripped of Hindu + political role of Islam

# The Modern Reformers

- 19th century Jamal al-Din al-Afghani

# Modern Reformers

- Muhammad Abduh, al Azha University Cairo salafist a Hanafi variant of Wahhabism
- Islamic code of the Arab Abbasid Caliphate, free of Sufiism and Persian influence
- Sayyid Qutb scholar of Abduh



# The Sufi and Pir Impulse

- most Sunni Afghans, rural and urban: Sharia + Sufi + local shrines + pir worship
- discouraged by formal Islam

# Sufi tariqa

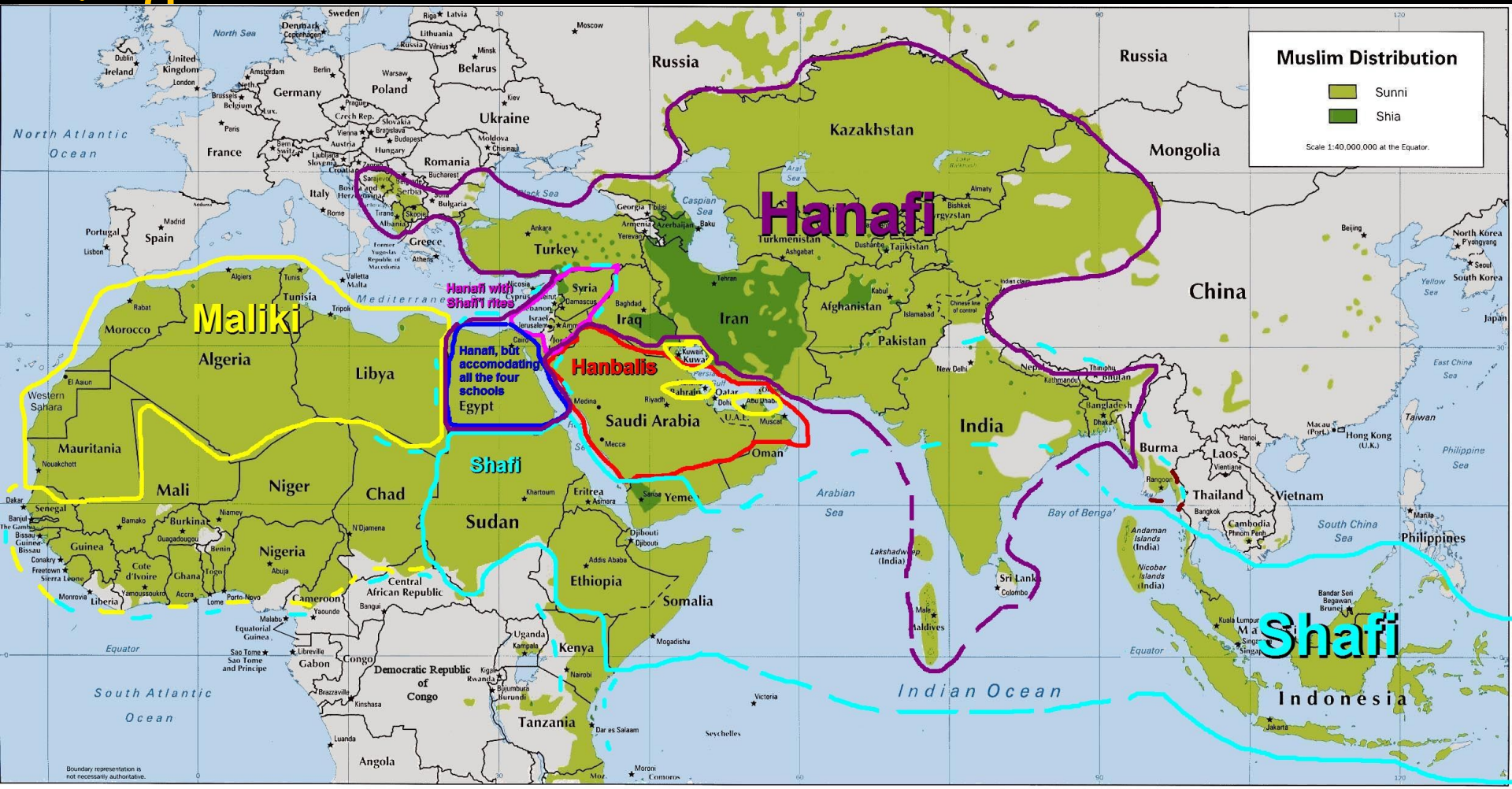
- Three Sufi tariqas (orders) Afghanistan 500 yrs tradition:
- Naqshbandiya (especially Kabul)
- Qadiriya (eastern P and Kandahar)
- Chistis.

# Ijtihad and Ijma

- Afghans Hanafi (fiq): ijtihad (legal speculation) and ijma (consensus)
- rival strict Hanbali Arabia limited -ijtihad – Ijma

# Flexible Fiqh

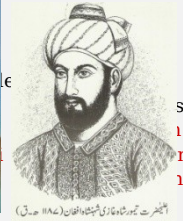
- ijtihad + ijma adaptation of Islam in South Asia, Buddhist + Hindu



# Sufism stronger than Salafist

- Deobandism (Hanafi salafist)
  = Hanbali fiqh v Sufism
- Ahl-i-Hadith, Hanbali
- Deobandi austere lifestyles of Pashtun refugees Deobandi rejection Sufism: will fail

| | Ahmad Shah 1773-1793 | Timur Shah 1826-39, 1842-63 | Amir Dost | Amir Sher Ali 1869-1879 | Abdur Rahman 1880-1901 | 1901-1919 | Amir Habibullah 1919-1929 | 1929-1933 | Amanullah Khan 1933-1973 | Nadir Shah | Zahir Shah | Durrani | Muhammad Khan | Khan | Khan | 1747-1773 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ascend | Elected | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rule | Draconian | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| End | Assass | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Base | Tribes | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tribe | Durrani | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Religion | Patron | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Legitimacy | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revenue | Booty | --- | --- | | | --- | Bacha | | | | | | | | | |
| Taxation | Failed | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | Saqqao | --- | --- | | | | | | | |
| Bureaucr. | --- | --- | --- | Founded | Strengthen | | Independent | | Bankrupt | Police | | | | | | |
| Army | --- | --- | --- | --- | Conscription | --- | Revolt | 40,000 | Modern | | | | | | | |
| Law | --- | --- | --- | --- | Reform | --- | --- | Hanafi | Rights | | | | | | | |
| Durrani | --- | Revolts | --- | --- | --- | --- | Revolt | --- | --- | | | | | | | |
| Ghilzai | Weak | Subdue | Subdue | --- | Relocated | --- | --- | --- | --- | | | | | | | |
| Tajik | Defeat | Subdue | Reassertion | | --- | Suppress | --- | Revolt | Crushed | --- | | | | | | |
| Uzbek | Defeat | Subdue | Reassertion | --- | Crushed | --- | --- | --- | --- | | | | | | | |
| Hazaras | Defeat | Conquer | Subdue | --- | Crushed | --- | --- | --- | --- | | | | | | | |
| Qizilbish | --- | Privileged | | Privileged | | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | | | | | |
| Reform | --- | --- | --- | Education | | Koranic | Limited | Women | Limited | Women | | | | | | |
| Aid | --- | --- | British | British | British | Turkish | British | British | Soviet,US | | | | | | | |
| War v India | 8 attacks | --- | Sikhs | 1839-42, 1878 | --- | Cautious | 1919 | --- | --- | | | | | | | |



Bacha Saqqao

# Failure to Engage Islam

- **Malleability**
- Islam in Afghanistan 1200 years
- end of the 19th century Abdur Rahman Khan Pakhtunwali > Sharia family law
- 1931 Nadir Shah legalized Hanafi fiqh
- Mughal UK patronage sufi shrines rural counter balance Islamic revivalism
- Anglo-Oriental College Aligarh + Muslim League v Islam created Pakistan

# Failure to Engage Islam

- Sufi tariqa:
- Habibullah Kalakani, a Tajik of the Naqshbandiya tariqa, 1929  Jihad
- Mawlana Faizani, Qadiriya tariqa pirs v. PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan)
- Naqshbandi + Chisti, tabligh > NATO
- Ulema passive v colonialism ; no converts during colonialism.

# Failure to Engage Islam

- India and Pakistan: Barelvi:  Pir Jamaat Ali Shah (Qadiri tariqa pir) joined Naqshbandi + Imam Ahmad Reza
- decline of Islam Hanafi Sharia ulama through sufiism
- fight Deoband Hanbali Ahl-i-Hadith control of mosques, fatalities
- Aid: Pakistan Barelvi India

# Limits of Islam

- Hekmatyar’s Hizb-e-Islami Gilzhai
- communist, self-admitted nationalist

# Conclusion

- Cause of the Afghan War
- What Pakistan wants
- Engaging Islamic ideas in Afghanistan